

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L KINSHASA 7930

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, OREP CG, AG

SUBJECT: CODEL CLARK'S TALKS IN ZAIRE

LIMDIS

1. CLARK/MOOSE VISIT TO ZAIRE WAS, I BELIEVE, QUITE SUCCESSFUL. THEY BRIEFED US ON THEIR MEETINGS WITH THE BISENGIMANA, BOMBOKO AND MOBUTU. FOLLOWING ARE INTERESTING POINTS. I LEAVE FOR BUKAVU TOMORROW AND WILL GIVE A FULLER WRAP UP OF CODEL VISIT WHEN I RETURN.

2. CABINDA: AFTER HE RECOUNTED WELL-KNOWN ZAIRIAN POSITION ON CABINDIAN AUTO DETERMINATION, BISENGIMANA SAID THAT WHAT ZAIRE WOULD LIKE TO SEE HAPPEN WOULD BE AN INDEPENDENT CABINDA WHOSE ROLE VIS-A-VIS ZAIRE, THE CONGO, AND ANGOLA WOULD BE ANALOGOUS TO HONG KONG, MACAO, MONACO OR LICHTENSTEIN. "A GREAT COUNTRY (ZAIRE) CANNOT HAVE A MACAO WITHIN ITS TERRITORY, BUT THE ADVANTAGES OF A FREE PORT, ATTRACTIVE INVESTMENT CONDITIONS AND THE LIKE NEXT DOOR ARE OBVIOUS."

3. THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION IN ANGOLA: MOBUTU DESCRIBED HIS VISION OF HOW THINGS SHOULD TURN OUT IN ANGOLA. HE BELIEVES THAT AID MUST BE GIVEN TO HOLDEN AND SAVIMBI SO THAT ALL THREE RPT THREE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS ARE STRONG AND SO THAT NO ONE CAN IMPOSE A MILITARY SOLUTION. ONCE SUCH A MILITARY STALEMATE IS ACHIEVED THE ELEMENTS OF A POLITICAL COMPROMISE WILL BE PRESENT.

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IF EITHER HOLDEN OR NETO WERE TO WIN, IT WOULD

NEVER BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE OTHER AND THE KILLING WOULD CONTINUE. ONLY SAVIMBI REPRESENTS A POSSIBLE COMPROMISE AND ONLY HE HAS THE LEADERSHIP QUALITIES REQUISITE TO KEEP ANGOLA TOGETHER. AN ULTIMATE COALITION GOVERNMENT WOULD INCLUDE THE MPLA, BUT NOT THE "NETO-COMMUNIST FACTION". MOBUTU BELIEVES THERE ARE NO LACK OF NON-COMMUNIST ELEMENTS WITHIN MPLA WHO WOULD BE PREPARED TO PUSH NETO ASIDE IN ORDER TO PARTICIPATE IN A COMPROMISE COALITION. THE TRICK, MOBUTU SAID, WOULD BE TO FIND A WAY TO MAKE THE JUNIOR AND MILITARILY WEAKEST ELEMENT, SAVIMBI, THE LEADER. HE BELIEVES THIS CAN BE DONE AND INTIMATED THAT HE WOULD BE ABLE TO HANDLE HOLDEN IN THIS CONNECTION.

4. ZAIRE'S LEADERSHIP ON THE ISRAELI QUESTION AT KAMPALA AND LIMA: MOBUTU REITERATED THAT HE HAD BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR TURNING AROUND THE AFRICAN SUMMIT ON THE ISSUE OF ISRAELI EXPULSION. HE SAID THAT THE OTHER AFRICANS FOLLOWED HIS LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING CONGO/BRAZZAVILLE, AND THAT THE ONLY EXCEPTION AT LIMA HAD BEEN THE UGANDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER WHO VOTED WITH THE ARABS BUT, MOBUTU SAID, THE UGANDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER CAME TO BULA AFTER THE DUST-UP AND TOLD HIM THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED BY AMIN TO FOLLOW ZAIRE'S LEAD ON EVERY ISSUE WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ISRAEL BECAUSE (A) UGANDA WAS RECEIVING SIGNIFICANT AID FROM QADHAFI AND (B) THAT AMIN WAS LEAVING FOR LIBYA WHERE HE WOULD HAVE HIS TONSILS OPERATED ON. MOBUTU ALSO SAID THAT THE ARAB BLOCK AT LIMA, LED BY THE SYRIAN DELEGATE, HAD BEEN FURIOUS AT ZAIRE'S MOVES WHICH HAD PREVENTED THE ANTI-ISRAEL RESOLUTION FROM PASSING AND WHEN THEY WITHDREW THEIR OWN RESOLUTION ALLOWING THE KAMPALA FORMULA TO PREVAIL, THE SYRIANS HAD BITTERLY ATTACKED ZAIRE AND THE AFRICANS AND THEN PREDICTED THAT NO FURTHER ARAB AID WOULD BE FORTHCOMING. AFTER THIS OUTBURST, THE ARABS CAUCUSED AND SENT THE SYRIAN, THE EGYPTIAN, AND KUWATI TO SEE BULA WITH AN APOLOGY.

5. ARAB/AFRICAN SOLIDARITY: WHEN SENATOR CLARK ASKED MOBUTU IF IT WAS NOT TRUE THAT THE ZAIRIAN LEADERSHIP HAD BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF BUILDING AFRICAN/ARAB SOLIDARITY MOBUTU REPLIED THAT THIS WAS TRUE BUT THAT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ARABS HAD MISPLAYED THEIR HAND. BEGINNING AFTER MOBUTU'S SPEECH AT THE UNITED NATIONS IN OCTOBER 1973 WHEN THE BLACK AFRICANS BEGAN TO SWING BEHIND THE ARABS, THE ARABS BELIEVED THAT THE AFRICANS WERE INTERESTED ONLY IN MONEY AND WOULD BE CONTENT TO FOLLOW THE ARABS DOWN THE LINE IN EVERY INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. THE ARABS PROCEEDED TO IMPOSE THEIR WILL AND INSIST ON THEIR AGENDA IN INTERNATIONAL FORA. MOBUTU SAID HE WAS GOING TO

TEACH THEM A LESSON AND HAD BEGUN TO DO SO AT KAMPALA. AT LIMA, MOBUTU, SAID BULA HAD TURNED THE ARAB AGENDA UPSIDE DOWN AND HAD SEEN TO IT THAT AFRICAN ISSUES WERE INSERTED AND GIVEN PRIORITY. MOBUTU SAID THAT HE WOULD PURSUE THIS INDEPENDENT LINE AT THE UN SPECIAL SESSION AND SUBSEQUENT CONFERENCES AND PREDICTED THAT BLACK AFRICA WOULD FOLLOW HIS LEAD.

6. MOBUTU INITIATIVE ON PORTUGUESE REFUGEES FROM ANGOLA: MOBUTU TOLD SENATOR CLARK THAT HE HAD RECENTLY COMMUNICATED BOTH TO THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT AND TO THE THREE LIBERATION LEADERS HIS WILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE IN ZAIRE ALL THE PORTUGUESE REFUGEES FROM ANGOLA. MOBUTU SAID THAT IT WAS FOOLISH AND INHUMANE FOR THE U.S., FRANCE AND OTHER WESTERN POWERS TO FINANCE AN AIRLIFT OF 300,000 PORTUGUESE REFUGEES FROM ANGOLA ONLY TO SET THEM DOWN IN EVEN MORE DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES IN PORTUGAL. "ANGOLA IS THEIR HOME, NOT PORTUGAL. I HAVE IN MY CONTROL FARMS, SMALL BUSINESSES AND THE KEY SECTORS OF THE ZAIRIAN ECONOMY. THE REFUGEES CAN COME HERE AND BEGIN TO WORK IMMEDIATELY WITH DIGNITY, AND THE KNOWLEDGE THAT WHEN THE SITUATION PERMITS IN ANGOLA THAT THEY CAN RETURN TO THEIR HOMES AND LIVE WITHIN A TRUE MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY." MOBUTU FRANKLY POINTED OUT THAT THIS PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE DEFINITE ADVANTAGES FOR ZAIRE BECAUSE THE PORTUGUESE REFUGEES WOULD HELP GET THE ZAIRIAN ECONOMY MOVING AGAIN. AND HE INSISTED THAT THE MONIES CURRENTLY PROGRAMMED FOR THE AIRLIFT AND THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN PORTUGAL SHOULD BE INSTEAD CHanneled TO ZAIRE WHO WOULD SEE TO IT THAT THE PORTUGUESE REFUGEES WERE TAKEN CARE OF AND THAT THE ORGANIZATION OF THEIR INSERTION INTO THE ZAIRIAN ECONOMY WOULD BE DONE IN AN ORGANIZED WAY. MOBUTU SAID THAT HE HAD HAD NO RESPONSE AT ALL

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FROM EITHER THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT OR FROM THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, BUT THAT HE INTENDED TO PURSUE HIS PROPOSAL AND HOPED THAT SENATOR CLARK WOULD BRING IT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE U.S.G.

WALKER

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